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(Original Signature of Member)

115TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

## H. RES.

Expressing the sense of the House of Representatives regarding unanswered questions into the fate of Raoul Wallenberg.

### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN (for herself, Mrs. LOWEY, Mr. ROSKAM, Mr. ENGEL, Mr. SMITH of New Jersey, Mr. DEUTCH, and Ms. GRANGER) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on

## RESOLUTION

Expressing the sense of the House of Representatives regarding unanswered questions into the fate of Raoul Wallenberg.

Whereas for 72 years, the full accounting of Raoul Wallenberg's arrest and the mystery of his fate remains unsolved, despite the continued and determined search for answers;

Whereas the current research and pool of knowledge recognizes and continues the tireless efforts of Raoul Wallenberg's parents, Maj and Fredrik von Dardel, and the countless scholars and volunteers who have worked

determinedly for over seven decades to solve the question of Raoul Wallenberg's fate;

Whereas Raoul Wallenberg was born August 4, 1912, in the Lidingö Municipality of Stockholm, Sweden;

Whereas in 1931 Wallenberg traveled to the United States to pursue his education at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor;

Whereas, after graduating in 1935 with high honors, Wallenberg received his bachelor degree of Science and Architecture and then returned to Sweden;

Whereas finding the market for architects in Sweden very restricted, Wallenberg traveled to Cape Town, South Africa, to work at a Swedish firm selling building materials;

Whereas six months later, Wallenberg transferred to a Dutch Bank located in Haifa—today, northern Israel—where Wallenberg first met Jews who had escaped from Nazi Germany;

Whereas in 1936, Wallenberg returned to Sweden where he eventually became the international director of the Central European Trading Company (Mellaneuropeiska), and later co-owned this Stockholm based import-export company with the Hungarian-Jewish businessman, Kálmán Lauer;

Whereas in June 1944, Wallenberg accepted a Swedish diplomatic appointment to travel to Hungary on a humanitarian mission to help protect the Jewish community there, a mission that was sponsored in large part by the U.S. War Refugee Board, which itself was just created earlier that year;

Whereas Raoul Wallenberg is credited with saving tens of thousands of Hungarian Jews through his work with the U.S. War Refugee Board;

Whereas Wallenberg and his diplomatic colleagues, aided by members of the Hungarian resistance, set up hospitals, schools, nurseries and soup kitchens in Budapest for over 8,000 Jewish orphans whose parents had already been either killed or taken to a concentration camp;

Whereas Wallenberg redesigned and developed official Swedish documents for the protection of Jews, including creating the so-called “Schutzpass”, a Swedish protective passport that ended up saving nearly 20,000 Jewish lives by granting the holder immunity from deportation from Hungary and almost certain death in Nazi concentration camps;

Whereas in November 1944, Wallenberg intervened in a German death march of Jews from Budapest to labor camps in Austria, handing out food, clothing, and Swedish protective passports, saving over 1,500 Jews from being transported to Auschwitz;

Whereas Wallenberg helped set up shelters that offered protection, and as a result of his joint efforts with the International Red Cross and diplomatic representatives from Switzerland, Portugal and several other nations, was able to save 50,000 Jews—of which an estimated 25,000 were directly under Wallenberg’s protection;

Whereas Wallenberg’s last significant success took place in January 1945, when he helped thwart a plot by the Nazi Schutzstaffel (SS) to exterminate 70,000 Jews being held captive in the Budapest Central (Large) Ghetto;

Whereas, on January 13, 1945, Raoul Wallenberg contacted the Soviet military authorities in an effort to secure food and supplies for the Jews under official Swedish protection;

Whereas, on January 17, 1945, Wallenberg and his driver, Vilmos Langfelder, left Budapest for a meeting with the Soviet military commander, Marshal Malinovsky in Debrecen, when they were taken into “protective custody” by the Soviet military counterintelligence units (Smersh);

Whereas that day was the last time anyone saw Raoul Wallenberg as a free man;

Whereas, on February 6, 1945, Wallenberg was placed in cell 123 of Moscow’s Lubyanka Prison and interrogated for an hour and a half, while Langfelder was placed in a separate cell—the official reason for arrest remains unknown;

Whereas later that month, Wallenberg’s mother was informed by the Soviet Ambassador to Sweden, Alexandra Kollontay, that her son was safe in the Soviet Union and would return soon;

Whereas, on March 8, 1945, Hungarian Kossuth Radio, controlled by the Soviets, reported that Wallenberg had been murdered en route to Debrecen;

Whereas, on June 15, 1946, in a meeting with Swedish Ambassador Staffan Söderblom, Soviet leader Joseph Stalin promised to investigate Wallenberg’s fate;

Whereas, on July 17, 1947, Colonel A.L. Smoltsov, head of the Lubyanka Prison’s Medical Department, addressed a handwritten note to Viktor Abakumov, Minister of State Security (MGB), stating that Wallenberg died suddenly in his cell, “probably as a result of a myocardial infar-

tion”, while an addendum to the report suggested that Abakumov ordered the body to be cremated without autopsy;

Whereas on the night of July 22, 1947, approximately one dozen prisoners with direct connection to both Raoul Wallenberg and Vilmos Langfelder were interrogated and subsequently isolated;

Whereas information released in 2009 by archivists of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation (FSB) indicated that on July 23, 1947, a still to this day unidentified prisoner, “Prisoner No. 7”, was interrogated for over 16 hours alongside Vilmos Langfelder;

Whereas the FSB archivists concluded “with great likelihood” in 2009 that “Prisoner No. 7” was Raoul Wallenberg;

Whereas, on August 8, 1947, Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Vishinsky reported to the Swedish government that Wallenberg was not in the Soviet Union, stating there had been no trace of him in any of the Soviet prisons and labor camps;

Whereas, on February 6, 1957, Soviet Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Andrei Gromyko, informed the Swedish government that Raoul Wallenberg had allegedly died of a heart attack on July 17, 1947 in Lubyanka Prison;

Whereas, countless individuals continued to search for Raoul Wallenberg well after his alleged death, including famed Nazi Hunter Simon Wiesenthal, who on February 12, 1975, wrote to United States Senator Henry Jackson that “to millions of Swedish citizens and to thousands who have survived Soviet Russian barbarity, the case of Wallenberg has become a sort of trauma. To know that

we can do nothing to bring light into the fate of a man who fell victim to his own good deeds is almost unbearable.”;

Whereas in January 1981, Tom Lantos became the first, and to date, only, Holocaust survivor to serve in the United States Congress;

Whereas Congressman Lantos after escaping from a Hungarian slave labor battalion found refuge in a Wallenberg “safe house” in Budapest;

Whereas on October 5, 1981, Public Law 97–54, authored by the late Congressman Tom Lantos, was enacted into law bestowing honorary United States citizenship upon Raoul Wallenberg, making him the second person to receive such an honor;

Whereas in February 1984, Wallenberg’s half-brother, Professor Guy von Dardel, filed a lawsuit in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia against the Soviet Union, demanding Soviet authorities provide information into the fate and whereabouts of Raoul Wallenberg;

Whereas on October 15, 1985, the District Court ruled that the Soviet Union violated international law by seizing and detaining Raoul Wallenberg, while also stating that “the Soviet Union has always had knowledge and information about Wallenberg; that it has failed to disclose and concealed that information”;

Whereas in May 1988, Members of the United States House of Representatives wrote a letter to President Ronald Reagan, asking him to urge Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev to reveal the truth regarding the Wallenberg case

and to allow Raoul Wallenberg's family to visit the Soviet Union and investigate Mr. Wallenberg's fate;

Whereas on July 27, 1989, Public Law 101-63 was enacted into law, designating October 5, 1989, as "Raoul Wallenberg Day";

Whereas in October 1989, members of Raoul Wallenberg's family were invited to Moscow by the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where they were given what were personal effects alleged to belong to Mr. Wallenberg and are said to have been offered condolences about his fate;

Whereas in 1990, headed by Professor von Dardel, the First International Commission on the Fate and Whereabouts of Raoul Wallenberg was formed and included independent experts in order to examine Russian archival collections, and made major discoveries directly relevant to the Wallenberg case;

Whereas in 1991, an official Swedish-Russian Working Group was appointed in order to try to establish joint efforts to determine what actually happened after the disappearance of the Swedish diplomat in January 1945;

Whereas on November 2, 1995, Congress unveiled a bronze bust dedicated to Raoul Wallenberg in the United States Capitol Rotunda;

Whereas on April 24, 1997, the United States Post Office issued U.S. stamp #3135, honoring Raoul Wallenberg;

Whereas on December 22, 2000, in response to a formal application by Professor von Dardel, Russia formally "rehabilitated" Raoul Wallenberg, a decision based on the 1991 law "on the rehabilitation of victims of political repression", stating "by decision of extra-judicial Soviet Organs [Wallenberg and Langfelder] were arrested with-

out foundation and deprived of their freedom for political reasons as representing a danger for society, without being accused of a specific crime”;

Whereas as a result of being “rehabilitated”, all information regarding Wallenberg should be made available from the Russian archives;

Whereas on January 12, 2001, the Swedish [side of the] Working Group presented its findings in a report, concluding that the case could not be finally closed as a result of being unable to obtain enough verifiable information, however, it did find that the “Russian announcement of Raoul Wallenberg’s death could only be accepted if it were confirmed beyond any reasonable doubt. This has not happened, partly for the want of a credible death certificate, and partly because the testimony about Raoul Wallenberg being alive after 1947 cannot be dismissed”;

Whereas on July 9, 2014, leaders of the United States Congress presented posthumously a Congressional Gold Medal, the highest civilian award bestowed by Congress, to Raoul Wallenberg in honor of his heroism during the Holocaust;

Whereas in October 2015, an international group of historians and Wallenberg experts launched a new initiative, The Raoul Wallenberg Research Initiative RWI-70, to pool researchers’ knowledge and expertise in order to develop a comprehensive catalogue of open questions in order to advance the search for answers regarding Wallenberg’s fate and to facilitate access to the pertinent archival materials and documents in Russian and other international archives;



Whereas in September 2016, members of Raoul Wallenberg’s family visited Moscow and formally presented the catalogue of pending questions, compiled by historians Dr. Vadim Birstein and Susanne Berger, to high ranking officials of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MID) and the Central Archive of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation (FSB) who indicated that Russian archivists would “answer every single one”;

Whereas in July 1993, Russia enacted a new Law on State Secrets, establishing the basis for classifying information, which initially led to the reclassification of documents previously released;

Whereas in 2012, the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation found that Russia’s Constitution ensures the freedom of information and clarified that a provision from the 1993 Law on State Secrets regarding a 30-year limit of classification “has to be applied to information defined as state secret both before and after this law came into force”; and

Whereas the International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance stipulates that any victim, or individual who has suffered harm as the direct result of an enforced disappearance, has “the right to know the truth regarding the circumstances of the enforced disappearance, the progress and results of the investigation and the fate of the disappeared person”: Now, therefore, be it

1       *Resolved*, That the House of Representatives—

2               (1) urges Russian authorities to grant access to  
3       archival collections, including the Central Archive of  
4       the Russian Security Service (TsA FSB), the Cen-

1       tral Archive of the Russian Ministry of Defense  
2       (TsA MO), the Central Archive of the Foreign Intel-  
3       ligence Service of the Russian Federation (TsA  
4       SVR), the Foreign Police Archive of the Russian  
5       Federation (AVP RF), the Archive of the President  
6       of the Russian Federation (APRF), the Russian  
7       State Archive of Socio-Political History (RGASPI),  
8       the Russian State Archive of Contemporary History  
9       (RGANI), the State Archive of the Russian Federa-  
10      tion (GARF), and the Archive of the Russian Min-  
11      istry of Internal Affairs (TsA MVD), and declassify  
12      and make publicly available all documents related to  
13      Raoul Wallenberg;

14           (2) urges the Russian authorities to work with  
15      Raoul Wallenberg's family, the Swedish government,  
16      as well as Russian and international scholars, re-  
17      searchers, and archivists in order to resolve the out-  
18      standing questions surrounding the circumstances of  
19      Wallenberg's arrest and death, including—

20           (A) how and why were Raoul Wallenberg  
21      and his driver, Vilmos Langfelder, detained by  
22      Soviet military counterintelligence units and  
23      moved from Budapest to Moscow in January  
24      1945;

1 (B) what happened to Raoul Wallenberg  
2 after his last confirmed presence in Lubyanka  
3 Prison in March 1947;

4 (C) where are the unredacted copies of all  
5 records of interrogations of prisoners connected  
6 with the Raoul Wallenberg case and why have  
7 they not been made available to family members  
8 and researchers;

9 (D) who were all of the prisoners interro-  
10 gated on July 22 and 23, 1947, in both  
11 Lubyanka and Lefortovo Prisons, where are the  
12 unredacted records and transcripts of such in-  
13 terrogations, and why have they not been made  
14 available to family members and researchers,  
15 including—

16 (i) what is the identity of “Prisoner  
17 No. 7”, and why have the family and re-  
18 searchers been denied access to review the  
19 prisoner’s entry in the interrogation reg-  
20 ister of Lubyanka Prison;

21 (ii) why did neither “Prisoner No. 7”  
22 nor Vilmos Langfelder sign the interroga-  
23 tion book as was customary, on that day  
24 and what is the meaning of the word  
25 “Proshel” in lieu of their signatures;

1 (iii) why have references to Raoul  
2 Wallenberg and Vilmos Langfelder been  
3 blotted out in various prison journals and  
4 when did this censorship occur; and

5 (iv) who are prisoners 14 and 16-20,  
6 sentenced from June 1947 through May  
7 1948, and why have they never been iden-  
8 tified;

9 (E) granting Raoul Wallenberg's family  
10 and researchers access to file PF-9653, which  
11 has been identified by FSB archivists as con-  
12 taining documentation on foreign diplomats, in-  
13 cluding Hungarian Prime Minister István  
14 Bethlen and Raoul Wallenberg's longtime cell-  
15 mate, the German diplomat Willy Rödel, who  
16 were imprisoned from 1945 through 1947;

17 (F) granting family members and re-  
18 searchers access to unredacted copies of the list  
19 of prisoners sentenced by the MGB Special  
20 Board from 1947 through 1953;

21 (G) granting the family and researchers  
22 access to the official death registers for  
23 Lubyanka and Lefortovo Prisons from 1947  
24 through 1953;

1 (H) what is the sequence of events on July  
2 17, 1947, when, according to Soviet officials,  
3 Raoul Wallenberg “died of a heart attack”, and  
4 if he did die, what happened to his body;

5 (I) when, and in what Soviet or Russian  
6 archival file, was the so-called Smoltsov Report  
7 discovered;

8 (J) why were no handwriting samples from  
9 1947 for Dr. Smoltsov provided by Russian of-  
10 ficials to forensic experts and why has no re-  
11 view been granted of Smoltsov’s personnel file  
12 in order to determine whether or not he was on  
13 extended medical leave and thus unable to over-  
14 see Wallenberg’s detention, as claimed;

15 (K) what has happened to the letter writ-  
16 ten by Minister of State Security Viktor  
17 Abakumov to Foreign Minister Vyacheslav  
18 Molotov on July 17, 1947;

19 (L) will all records of the Politburo meet-  
20 ing in Stalin’s office from August 9, 1947, dur-  
21 ing which the Wallenberg case was definitely  
22 discussed, be declassified and released;

23 (M) since researchers have not been per-  
24 mitted to examine important Russian intel-  
25 ligence collections that could provide valuable

1 insights into the reasons for Wallenberg's ar-  
2 rest—

3 (i) will researchers receive access to  
4 Soviet foreign and military intelligence re-  
5 ports from Hungary in 1944 and 1945, as  
6 well as additional Soviet intelligence re-  
7 ports from Stockholm, Sweden for the  
8 years 1944 through 47 that have so far re-  
9 mained classified; and

10 (ii) will researchers also be permitted  
11 to review reports from Soviet Military  
12 Field Intelligence operating in Hungary in  
13 1945, which possibly interrogated both  
14 Raoul Wallenberg and Vilmos Langfelder;

15 (N) since Stalin's personal secretariat, the  
16 Special Sector of the Central Committee, was  
17 involved in the Wallenberg case, will the infor-  
18 mation from its records regarding this case be  
19 made available;

20 (O) since, in 1956 a Soviet citizen by the  
21 name of Shiryagin in Kharkov wrote to the So-  
22 viet Ministry of Foreign Affairs claiming to  
23 have important information about Raoul  
24 Wallenberg, why did the Foreign Ministry re-  
25 quest the KGB to silence Shiryagin on the

1 issue, where is the letter, and what are its con-  
2 tents;

3 (P) where is the documentation regarding  
4 the discussions that took place in 1956 between  
5 Soviet diplomats Viktor Vladimirov and Pavel  
6 Yerzin with Finnish diplomat Åke Frey about  
7 Raoul Wallenberg;

8 (Q) since, on February 6, 1957, when the  
9 Soviet authorities informed the Swedish govern-  
10 ment that Raoul Wallenberg had died in July  
11 1947, only limited information was presented,  
12 will all the records of the Presidium (Politburo)  
13 discussions regarding the preparation of the  
14 Gromyko Memorandum be made available;

15 (R) since, in 1961 Swedish physician Pro-  
16 fessor Nanna Svartz reported that her Soviet  
17 colleague Professor A. L. Myasnikov revealed to  
18 her that he had direct knowledge of  
19 Wallenberg's presence in the Soviet Union, will  
20 the full documentation of these discussions be  
21 made available to Raoul Wallenberg's family  
22 and researchers;

23 (S) how and where exactly were  
24 Wallenberg's personal effects discovered in  
25 1989, and were they collected and archived in

1 line with the standard Soviet administrative  
2 procedures of the time, including—

3 (i) if Wallenberg indeed died in 1947,  
4 why weren't the bills of foreign currency in  
5 his possession at the time of his arrest  
6 confiscated then (as was official Soviet ad-  
7 ministrative protocol for prisoners of war)  
8 but instead handed over to some of his  
9 family members in 1989 and can proof be  
10 provided that the currency given to  
11 Wallenberg's family was the original cur-  
12 rency in his possession;

13 (ii) how did the Soviet authorities  
14 know the amount of currency in  
15 Wallenberg's possession, was he given a re-  
16 ceipt for his currency upon arrival at  
17 Lubyanka, and if so, in which file was this  
18 receipt kept; and

19 (iii) were Wallenberg's diplomatic  
20 passport and address book archived in his  
21 Archival-Investigation file, has that file  
22 been preserved as has that of his former  
23 cellmate, Rödel, and if so, will  
24 Wallenberg's Archival-Investigation File be  
25 made available;



1 (T) since in 1993, a former KGB official,  
2 Colonel Andrei Bachurin, indicated that  
3 Wallenberg had once asked for medical assist-  
4 ance, requesting an appointment with a dentist,  
5 why hasn't the actual register entry for this re-  
6 quest ever been presented by the Central Ar-  
7 chive of the FSB despite numerous inquiries;

8 (U) since in 1993, a former Vladimir Pris-  
9 on employee reported that a prisoner matching  
10 Raoul Wallenberg's description had been held in  
11 isolation in Section 2 sometime during the mid-  
12 to-late 1950s, while a former prisoner in Vladi-  
13 mir Prison, Zigurds Kruminsh, stated to his  
14 American cellmate, Professor Marvin Makinen,  
15 that he had met a secret Swedish prisoner dur-  
16 ing his time at Vladimir, are there any for-  
17 eigners imprisoned in Vladimir Prison during  
18 the years 1945 to 1975 whose names have thus  
19 far been withheld, and will the names of all  
20 Swedish nationals held prisoner in the Soviet  
21 Union during this time be released; and

22 (V) since, on January 12, 2001, a Swed-  
23 ish-Russian Working Group investigating the  
24 Wallenberg case for over 10 years produced  
25 contradictory reports and failed to reach a com-

1 mon conclusion, what evidence is there to con-  
2 firm that Wallenberg was most likely executed  
3 on July 17, 1947, as the official Russian report  
4 from 2001 stated;

5 (3) urges the President, Secretary of State, and  
6 other high level United States Government officials  
7 to raise the case of Raoul Wallenberg to their Rus-  
8 sian counterparts, and request direct access to the  
9 original and unredacted documentation in the Rus-  
10 sian archives, including the questions specified in  
11 subparagraphs (A) through (U) of paragraph (2);

12 (4) emphasizes the need of independent  
13 verification of any information provided by Russian  
14 officials; and

15 (5) reaffirms Raoul Wallenberg's "humani-  
16 tarian spirit, personal courage and nonviolent action  
17 in the face of enormous odds", and commits to the  
18 continued pursuit of answers regarding Wallenberg's  
19 fate.